1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

(Mongols of the lower land) (p. 375). ("Santan Dzhimba" is, of course, Potanin's version of the famous "Samdadchiemba" who had previously accompanied Huc and Gabet.)

Potanin refers further to the opinion of Uspenski, who disproves the theory of Prjevalski concerning the "Daldy" or "Talat," and claims that the Daldy are the people called by the Chinese Huang Fan and who are the Shera-Uighurs. Potanin supposes that the Shirongols probably belong to the same stock as the Shera-Uighurs who live in the Nanshan range north of Kanchou and Suchou and are called Huang Fan or "Yellow barbarians" by the Chinese. He notes that according to the *Annals* of Suchou, the names of the Princes of the "Yellow Barbarians" are Mongol names, and raises the question whether the Shirongols or Monguors may not be simply a group of these Uighurs (Yellow Uighurs) who were first Mongolized and later strongly influenced by the Chinese culture (p. 382). Potanin notes a tradition which he himself heard several times and which was also heard by Prjevalski that the Shirongols came to the Tibetan frontier from the Ordos. In connection with the fact that they are sometimes called Daldy, or Talat, he cites from Prjevalski the fact that one of the Ordos banners is called Talat. Potanin also notes a tradition that the Shirongols were sent by Chingis Khan himself to take possession of the Tibetan frontier. On the question of the precise time of their arrival, Potanin draws attention to three migrations from the Ordos region to the Tibetan frontier. The first of these was in the fourth century A.D., when a large group of the Sienpi tribe of Eastern Mongolia passed through the Ordos and migrated as far as Northern Tibet. The second, according to the Mongol historian, Sagang Setsen, was in the thirteenth century, when Dorda and Godan, brothers of Kublai Khan, were ordered by their mother to migrate to Shera-tala (Yellow Plain) northwest of Hsining. (According to a communication from Father Mostaert, this story was not written by Sagang Sètsen, but added by Schmidt, his translator.) The third migration was in the fifteenth century when a large group of Ölöt or western Mongols came to the Kukunor region from the north. He suggests that the Shirongols may be the result of the mingling of the descendants of these groups, or perhaps only of the two groups that migrated, in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (p. 280).

Potanin notes a tradition according to which the Shirongols had built a large realm, the capital of which was at Lanchou (capital of the province of Kansu); after three mighty emperors had governed the realm in succession it was destroyed by Ghesar (the mythical Tibetan hero). One of these emperors was Horbende. Potanin adds that in the Mongol chronicle *Altan Tobchi* (Russian translation, p. 196) it is said that: "Sain Altan Khagan destroyed the Sharegols of Amdo who lived between Tibet and Tangut" and he supposes that the

[p.24b]

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114 Sharegols are the Shirongols, or that the Shirongols are their descendants (p. 375).

• 173 Potanin notes also another tradition that the founder of all the families of Monguor T'u-ssu, or chieftains, was Li, prince of Chin; according to this tradition the present T'u-ssu family of Li represents the direct line of descent, while the other T'u-ssu families are collateral descendants. Li, Prince of Chin (an ancient name for the northern part of what is now the Province of Shansi; a region frequently held by Turkish tribes during the early middle ages), was a high official at the court of one of the T'ang emperors. For misbehavior at an imperial dinner he was exiled to the region of Hsining. He brought Chinese to this region to develop agriculture, and built a city which became the capital of a powerful kingdom. According to some variants of the legend, the mythical Tibetan hero, Ghesar, destroyed the kingdom of the Shirongols, but according to other variants it was Li who was the founder of the Kingdom. The ancient grave of Li, Prince of Chin, is to be seen near Shandan (an old name for the city of Hsining). The stone slab set before the grave is reputed to have medicinal powers, for which reason people chip off pieces of the stone. Only about one-third of the stone still exists. Stones carved in the form of sheep are set out in rows before the grave (pp. 380–381).

114 177 Potanin goes on to state that there are many groups of the Shirongols, some of whom live in communities of their own while others live in mixed communities. Among the Shirongols of San Ch'uan there are families of Tibetan and Chinese origin, while on the other hand some of the Shirongols have become Tibetanized. In the succession to the chieftainship, he says, the eldest son inherits, while his brothers sink into the rank of commoners. In some groups there is no chief, the people, after accusing the chief of imposing too heavy land taxes and feudal services, having become ordinary Chinese subjects. Potanin was not able to find out how many of the original eighteen groups of Shirongols still existed in his time. According to his information, the Shirongols were allowed to sell their fields to members of the same group, if they had the permission of their chief.[4]

000 *W. W. Rockhill* writes of the Monguors:

> In western Kan-su these Tu-jen alone use cave dwellings; such dwellings are found among all these people, and also, I have heard said, among the Tibetan tribes living west of Sung-p'an-t'ing. The question suggests itself whether these tribes did not teach the Chinese to make such dwellings and furthermore whether these people, these Tu-jen, are not of the same stock as the now extinct Man-tzu cave makers of western Sze-ch'uan (pp. 72–74). Their language is as I thought about eight-tenths Mongol.

[4] G. N. Potanin, *Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya (The Tangut-Tibetan frontier of China and Central Mongolia)*, 1893 (in Russian). An abridged edition was published in 1950 (Moscow, State Publishers), and is the source which I have used here. The passages cited were kindly translated for me by F. J. Spriet, pp. 374, 380–384.

[P. 25a]

114 *Reginald Farrer*, who was in the country in 1915, writes that "Here and there all over China occur these
101 queer little outcrops of dying races from of old," and that the "Turan," or "Children of Earth," pervade just this one small spot on the face of China, a curious race, wholly unlike the Chinese, the Mongols, the Tibetans and the Mohamedans, if only in the fact that they are very dark and very dense with curly black hair." [11]

Frederick Wulsin wrote of the Monguors that "Some have suggested that the T'u-run (speech) is very old Mongol and others that it is based on the Shat'o Turkish dialect. The present To-run might be descended from immigrants belonging to one or the other of these races. The information now at hand does not justify me in expressing an opinion." [12]

This last citation may be taken as an appropriate summing up of the fact that the Monguors have always been an enigma to foreign travelers.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO THE LOCAL PEOPLE

101 The Monguors have, however, been as much an
•173 enigma to their Chinese neighbors as they have been to foreigners. The Chinese name T'u-jen means, as has already been explained, "autochthones" or "aborigines," and under the influence of this term the popular explanation of the Chinese of the region is that the Monguors are descendants of the first inhabitants of the country who built the oldest villages and cities, occupied the most fertile valleys, dug the irrigation canals and then were conquered and subjugated by the Chinese at some very early historical period.

Another Chinese tradition, however, is that the Monguors are of Mongol stock and settled in the region where they now live, during the Mongol dynasty, between 1260 and 1368. Still another tradition is that they are Mongols who were settled as garrisons in Yunnan Province, under the Mongol dynasty, but on the fall of that dynasty were moved to Hsining and settled there at the orders of the Ming dynasty. Yet another Chinese tradition is that the Monguors are all of Shat'o Turkish stock and arrived in the Hsining region during the T'ang dynasty (618–906); but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming dynasty. While living in the region, I also heard it said by learned Chinese who had won literary honors under the Manchu Empire that the Monguors were not a homogeneous people, but included descendants of the T'ulufan of Turkistan, remnants of the medieval T'uyühun (Sienpi) tribes, and even fragments of old Ch'iang (Tibetan) tribes. Such Chinese were prone to say in addi-
173 tion that the T'u-ssu or hereditary local chiefs were not of the same origin as any of their subjects, but that they

[11] Reginald Farrer, *The rainbow bridge*, 75, London, Arnold, 1921.

[12] Frederick Wulsin, Non-Chinese inhabitants of the province of Kan-su, China. *Amer. Jour. Physical Anthropol.* **8**: 316, 1925.

[P.26a]

•13 were all of Chinese extraction and did not understand the language of their subjects.

According to this tradition the founding ancestor of the Li line of T'u-ssu chiefs was not in fact of Shat'o extraction and not the son of Li K'o-yung, Prince of Chin, but a wealthy and prominent Chinese living in Hsining. At the time of the fall of the Mongol dynasty and the founding of the Ming dynasty, Tibetan tribes were making destructive forays along the Hsining frontier, and this Chinese named Li asked them to submit to the new dynasty. When they refused he went to Lanchow, asked for Chinese troops, and also called on the Monguors of the region to lend a hand in crushing the turbulent Tibetans. The marauders were defeated and fled to the Tsaidam marshes and other parts of the Tibetan plateau, the Monguors and all the other frontier people were grateful to Li for saving their lives and their wealth, and he was rewarded by the Emperor with the office of T'u-ssu and chieftainship over the Monguors.

As against this semi-literary tradition, however, both Monguors and Chinese of the valley of Shat'ang, northeast of Hsining, maintain that the Li T'u-ssu line is in fact descended from the Shat'o prince of Chin and as proof they claim that the Shat'ang valley was formerly called the Shat'o valley and that the original Li mansion was built in the village of Hsinyuänp'u, where its ruins can still be seen. They say that the founding ancestor of the Li line, at the head of his Shat'o troops, crushed insurrections led by Huang Ch'ao (875 A.D.) and saved the tottering throne of the T'ang dynasty; but that, disgusted by the intrigues of jealous Chinese ministers, he retired to Hsinyuänp'u, where in addition to the ruins of his mansion there are pointed out the ruins of another mansion, said to have been built by his "prime minister." In the same valley, near a village called Hsitsantze, the ruins of an old city are huddled at the foot of the mountains. This city is called Hsinch'eng, the "New City." Linked with this ruined city are the ruins of an old frontier "Great Wall," and both city and wall are attributed by local tradition to the founding ancestor of the Li line.

The descendants of this prince are credited by the same local tradition with having been at one time the rulers of Hsining, and it is said that the ruined Buddhist monastery of Tafu, situated near the administrative buildings of the governor of the province, in the city of Hsining, was once their ancestral temple. This tradition of the origin of the ruined temple is in fact spread all over the country.

In 1913 I received a call from the then Li T'u-ssu, who proposed to sell me the ruined monastery and the site on which it stood. When asked for his land deeds, he replied that they had been lost during some previous insurrection or time of trouble, but that the tradition of his clan, supported by the belief of all the inhabitants of the region, ought to suffice in place of legal title deeds.

[P. 26-b]

•173 This Li T'u-ssu gave me the following account of his ancestry, as preserved in the tradition of the clan itself. During the T'ang dynasty, he says, in the realm of Hsi Liang,[13] a boy was born in the harem and cast away in the street. A butcher picked him up and gave him the name of Hsueh Ping-kuei. When the butcher died, the boy became a beggar. Then Wang Pao-ch'üan, minister of the King of Western Liang, whose daughter had reached marriageable age, made a public announcement that on the second day of the second moon he would throw a ball wrapped in red silk from the roof of his house; and that the lad who could catch it would become his son-in-law. It was the young beggar who had the good luck to catch the precious ball, but the minister refused him and sent him away. The daughter, however, smitten with love by the sight of the handsome beggar boy, fled from her father's mansion and joined him. The beggar then became a soldier.

One day his father-in-law and his wife's two brothers seized him and tied him on a spirited horse. The horse bolted into the palace of the King, where the Princess T'ai-shan, astonished by his handsome appearance, married him. After eighteen years he remembered his first wife and fled and rejoined her. During all this time she had been waiting for him suffering innumerable privations and hardships. In the meantime the Princess had set out in pursuit of her beloved, accompanied by a troop of soldiers. She rested at night under a plum tree, where she gave birth to a boy. The boy was given the surname of Li ("Plum tree"). This was the boy who grew up to be Li K'o-yung, Prince of Chin, born of the Princess T'ai-shan under the plum tree, and destined to become the founder of the Li T'u-ssu line.

This legend accords exactly with the celebrated Chinese comedy "Ping-kuei hui yao," "Ping-kuei returns to the cavern." The significant thing about the legend in this form is that it portrays the founding ancestor of the Li line not as a descendant of the "barbarian" Shat'o tribe, but as the son of a princess belonging to the ephemeral Chinese kingdom of Hsi Liang. It probably reflects an attempt on the part of the nobility of the Monguors to deny their "barbarous" origin. The capital of Hsi Liang was at Tunhuang, in the zone of deserts and oases between the regions now administratively known as Kansu and Sinkiang, and stands at the point where a valley coming down from the northern rim of the Tibetan plateau opens into the low-lying deserts. The legend does violence to history, because the kingdom of Hsi Liang lasted from A.D. 400 to 421, and the T'ang dynasty was founded only in A.D. 620. The founder of the T'ang dynasty, Li Yuan, was a descendant in the seventh generation of the last king of Hsi Liang, and the legend, by bridging the gap, attempts to connect the founding ancestor of the Li line both with the founder of the T'ang dynasty and with his remote ancestor in the oasis kingdom of Tun-huang.

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[13] See chap. 1, p. 19.

It should be pointed out that there is a whole complex of traditions and legends in the Hsining region referring to the famous Li, Prince of Chin. According to one of them, he used to send his cavalry horses into the valley of Sha-t'ang for summer pasture, in the care of the tribes living in that valley, and it was in this way that the Shat'o came to settle in the region.[14]

Concerning the very important Lu T'u-ssu line there are comparable legends and traditions, and in this case it is true that the T'u-ssu or chiefs do not speak the language of their subjects. According to some, the founding ancestor of this line was of Chinese extraction, having been sent in former times by the emperor of China to govern the "barbarian" people of the frontier. Others say that both this tribe and its clan of chiefs were Mongols who had been part of the garrison of Yunnan Province under the Mongol dynasty and were then moved by the Chinese, under the Ming dynasty, to the Province of Kansu to garrison the Tibetan frontier. According to still another version, the Lu clan is assigned an even more ancient origin; the story is that the chief of this tribe was responsible for capturing the terrible usurper Wang Mang, who was responsible for the interregnum between the first Han dynasty, ending in A.D. 9, and the second Han dynasty, beginning in A.D. 23. The privileges of the Lu clan chiefs are said to date from this time. To this day two human hands, shrunken, dry, and blackened, reputed to be the hands of Wang Mang, are preserved in the temple of the protecting deity of the Lu clan. I have myself seen them more than once, tied on a stick and covered with a "scarf of felicity" (*khatag*).

According to yet another legend, however, the founding ancestor of the Lu clan was a kinsman of Chingis Khan, and the whole group was originally assigned to this region by Chingis Khan himself.

Concerning the Ch'i line of T'u-ssu, it is said that the founding ancestor of this line was sent by a Mongol emperor to drive away the Tibetans, and that his first mansion was built as Hsiaoch'aoyang, where the ruins can still be seen. Later he built a new fortress north of Weiyuanp'u in Pei-nai, and a monastery in Tung-ying. The old graveyard of this clan is in T'angpa.

An old Monguor, the Lama Li Ming, superintendent of the establishment of the Living Buddha T'ukuan of the monastery of Erhkulung, gave me the following tradition which is probably colored by lamaistic teaching: the Monguors, he said, are all of Uighur origin.[14a] In former times they lived near the monastery of Mat'i, in Yungch'ang, a sub-prefecture of Liangchou. A small group of Uighurs still lives at this place. There were

[14] This tradition seems to be related to the fact that during the Yung-lo period (1403–1425), horses of the Chinese government were raised in the pastures of Shat'ang valley (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 4: 15*b*).

[14a] See also Matthias Hermanns, S.V.D., *Uiguren und ihre neuentdeckten Nachkommen*, *Anthropos*, Vienna, **35–36** (1–3): 78 sqq., 1940–1941.

originally three brothers. Hor, also known as Serlen, Serkar, and Serkur. The eldest took his subjects and went into Mongolia, where they became Mongols; the second and his followers went to Tibet and became Tibetans; the third and his subjects went to Hsining, where they became the Monguors.

Another story has it that in former times the country was always troubled by forays both from Mongolia and from Tibet, and that the Chinese commanders who succeeded in defeating and conquering some of the frontier tribes were appointed by the Chinese emperor to be the chiefs of these tribes, so that all of the chiefs of the Monguors are to be regarded as of Chinese origin.

According to still another story, an emperor of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–620), having defeated the T'uyühun (Sienpi) near Hsining, drove most of them into Tibet; but several tribes submitted to this emperor and were assigned a territory by him in which they settled down and became the Monguors of today.

The overall conclusion seems to be that as far as tradition and legend are concerned, the problem of the origin of the Monguors is about as confused as it can be, and remains an enigma not only for Westerners but for the Chinese and for the Monguors themselves. Verbal tradition certainly provides no conclusive answer. A new trail can be blazed only by turning to the literary documents.

It was after more than three years of residence in the country that I had the good luck to obtain the 1747 edition of the *Annals* or chronicles of the prefecture of Hsining. The first edition, printed in 1595, was not available to me. I also secured the *Annals* of the province of Kansu, printed in 1909, and still later I had the very great good fortune to come into possession of a copy of the family chronicles of the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu, edited and printed from wood blocks in 1600 and then continued in manuscript in 1897. These materials enabled me to set out on a new attempt to clarify the origin and early history of the Monguors.

THE NAME OF THE MONGUORS

The name T'u-jen is not only used by the people of Hsining when speaking of the Monguors but is also encountered in the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province. According to the Chinese dictionaries, T'u-jen means "Native"; it can mean either the people pertaining by birth to a certain place, or the original inhabitants of a country. In Chinese books the word T'u-jen is never used to indicate Chinese inhabiting any place in China. The word has in general usage a derogatory meaning similar to that of the English word "native," and is used for "barbarians," non-civilized peoples subjected to the civilized Chinese, such as the Miao-tze, Lolo, and other tribes.

T'u-jen, however, has a specific meaning for the Chinese of Hsining, who use it only for the Monguors and Shat'o, perhaps because the Monguors and Shat'o speak

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could be held to account for the murder of any traveller on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkuling, in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

In connection with this recorded historical incident there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay, provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained completely at the expense of their own clans. As compensation, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

563 the suppression of the big Mongol and Tibetan frontier revolt in 1723.

177 As for these large groups, it is to be noted that they are enrolled in two of the most outstanding clans, the Li and the Ch'i. The Ch'i clan descends from the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan has always been the strongest of all the Monguor clans.

• 173 Under the Mongol dynasty members of this clan held
177 the most important administrative posts in Hsining. A
563 tradition runs in these clans that the Tibetans enrolled on their lists were already living in the country under the Mongol dynasty and at that time had already separated from their original tribes and submitted to the ancestors of the Li and Ch'i clans. This tradition seems quite credible. More is not known about these Tibetans, and nothing about the 18 families under the Wang T'u-ssu. Besides these groups of Tibetans, many single Tibetan families enrolled at different times in most of the clans and live scattered among the Monguors.

177 Owing to the enrollment of Tibetans and to marriages between Monguors and Tibetans there are in Monguor social life many practices proper to the matriarchal family system. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese, many Monguors have lost their own language, repudiated their Monguor origin, and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook.

When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors. They were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials in respect to taxes or military service. On the other hand they could not renounce their allegiance to the T'u-ssu, or leave his territory without his permission.

The question whether there are still other "Monguor" clans in other parts of Kansu may be answered as follows: the clans called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsining region are the only seventeen clans that constitute the subject of the present study. It is known that at the time these clans submitted to the Ming dynasty and their chiefs were made T'u-ssu, other groups of Mongols lived in the southeastern part of Kansu, in the regions of Titao, Hochou, and Minchou. Their chiefs, like those of the Mŏnguors, were made T'u-ssu, had territories assigned to them, and acted as "wardens of the marches" (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 12, *passim*). They did not, however, form part of the same community as the Monguors. The chiefs and nobles of one of these groups, living east of Hochou, claim to be descendants of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty (*Annals, ibid.*). They became Muslims, and speak a language akin to Mongol.[35] Another group, also near Hochou, are called Sant'a [36] or "Muslims"; they became Muslims during the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796), in order to save their lives at a time when the region was dominated by rebellious Muslims. The famous Muslim gen-

[35] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuangk'uang*, 200–202.

[36] From the Chinese transcription of "Sart."—O. L.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

624 as the seat of authority that is the true center of administration. The tour through his territory seems to recall the older nomad society in its reassertion of personal control over the subjects, securing the cohesion of the clan and binding the subjects to the territory. The procedure may be compared with that of the Mongols, among whom every three years the register of the population is brought up to date and a large meeting of the Banner is held.[53] Among the Manchus, the general meeting of the clan is usually held once a year and never less frequently than once in three years.[54] Among the Monguors, it is to be noted that the T'u-ssu, in addition to his triennial tour, presides once a year over the meeting of the whole clan on the day of the veneration of the ancestors.

THE T'U-SSU LORD OF THE NOBLES

173 At the seat of the T'u-ssu is kept the register of all
618 the noble families and their members. Even the girls are noted and the families into which they marry. The difference between this register and the book of genealogies of the nobles lies in the fact that in the book of genealogies the birth of children, whether boys or girls, is not noted. A noble is entered in the book of genealogies as of the day of his death, on which date are noted the day of his birth and the name of his wife. The names of unmarried sons are not inscribed because they have not produced sons for the clan; the names of girls are omitted because they are "outsiders," taking the name of a different clan as soon as they are married. The register of the noble families is more elaborate, because each member of the family, boys and girls alike, is assessed a levy of 50 coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple.

THE TRIENNAL VISIT

624 At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu among the nobles,
574 the register is brought up to date. Because the nobles live scattered in the villages among the commoners and the members of the same House do not necessarily live in the same village, the visit of the T'u-ssu is so ordered that he visits the Houses one after another on fixed days. All members of a House must gather at the home of some one member. They are expected to invite the T'u-ssu and to send horses for his retinue. The picture of the guardian deity of the clan accompanies the T'u-ssu, and a reception is held during which the members of the generation senior to the T'u-ssu bow to him, while members of junior generations prostrate themselves. The hosts must provide a dinner at which the T'u-ssu presides as chief over all his noble kinsmen. Topics of
[431] interest to the nobles are discussed, and though they offer him no money, they present him with a piece of cloth.

[53] E. Timkovskii, *Voyage en Chine par la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821*, 1, 113, 321, Paris, 1827.

[54] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit*, 51.

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764 but it could be seen that the materials of the saddle had included copper and iron. As this discovery was made 172 six years before I arrived in the country, I was unable to gather more details from the local people, who were totally uninterested in archaeological discoveries. The bricks of the tomb were said to have been carried away and used by the villagers, and the place could no longer be identified.

We know from numerous archaeological excavations that such tombs were built by the Turkish and Mongol tribes of Inner Asia and Northern Mongolia from ancient down to medieval times. These tombs are related in design to the tombs of the ancient Chou kings in China in the first millennium B.C. They consist essentially of an excavated chamber, its walls shored up either with timber or, in China, with bricks, and a great tumulus heaped up over the grave.[56] In the grave were placed horses and sometimes wives and servants who had been sacrificed to be buried with the deceased. Does the horse-burial tomb in the Monguor country belong to this tradition? This question I cannot answer, as I was unable to inspect the tomb.

At present there exist only two ancestral burial mounds which, according to Monguor tradition, contain such burial chambers. One is that of the Ch'i clan in Nienpei built in the garden of the mansion, in which are buried the more recent ancestors of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, and the other that of the Lu clan in Liench'eng. For other clans, there are conflicting traditions. Some say that in former times a number of clans had similar ancestral mounds, but that they were destroyed by Muslims. This tradition is not supported by such evidence as the ruins of burial places of this kind; on the other hand, in all the oldest cemeteries there is merely a big mound over the grave of the founding ancestor, without burial chambers, and therefore graves with such chambers are not only exceptional but of late construction.

• 173 As for the valley in which the horse-burial was discovered, it is said that it was once inhabited by the Li 172 clan, which is of Shat'o Turkish origin. Near the place where the burial-chamber was found there are still the ruins of an old fortress which is said locally to have been built by the famous Li, Prince of Chin. Although it is quite probable that the Shat'o Turks once occupied this valley, it is certain that the famous Prince Li never lived there. It is possible that his name has been attached in folk tradition to some other once-famous Shat'o chief; but it does not seem likely that this chief, whoever he was, was a direct ancestor of the present clan, because the Li clan holds its assembly in the valley of Hanp'ingshan, five miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 4, p. 3).

764 The Sanch'uan branch of the same clan, south of Nienpei, holds its diet at Hsiangt'ang, at the junction of the Tat'ung and Hsining Rivers. Here stands the most elaborate cemetery in the whole country. It seems to

[56] W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien* 2: 121, Liepzig, 1893. [p. 70a]

769 stand erect with arms stretched at the side. This was followed by an order to "worship the spirit of the earth." On this order the T'u-ssu, alone, went straight to the offering table before the central mound, prostrated himself, knelt and bowed nine times before the stele, and poured wine on the ground as a libation to the spirit of the earth. At the next order, "worship the ancestors!" the T'u-ssu, still alone, knelt and prostrated himself nine times before the stele, pouring the ritual libation of wine on the stone table, and performed the same rite at each end of the stone tables in front of the smaller mounds. A libation of tea was then poured in the same way, paper was burned, and incense sticks fixed on every small mound and on the central table in front of the great mound.

Again hats and clothes were adjusted, and at the order of the master of ceremonies the members of the oldest living generation lined up before the stele, and taking their time from his commands bowed, prostrated themselves, and knelt nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and so on. The rites performed by each group of the nobles and by the commoners have already been related above (pp. 60 sq.) as has also the sacrificial communion with the founding ancestor. At each distribution of pie and bread, the oldest generation received its portion first. Later the carcass of the pig was divided in the same way, and portions of the pie and the pork were reserved to be sent to noble members of the clan who had been unable to attend the assembly.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

●173 769 The ceremony of veneration is followed by bringing up to date the genealogical register of the descendants of the founding ancestor, in the presence of the T'u-ssu and the whole noble group. In noble families, when a father, mother, or some other member of a family dies, the Monguors write the name of the deceased, the names of his parents, and the hour and day of his birth and death on a slip of red paper. This slip is impaled on a chopstick, which is planted in a bowl containing wheat, placed reverently before the picture of the Lama Buddhist or Taoist deity particularly honored in that family. The slip of paper is later removed, brought to the annual assembly, and presented to the T'u-ssu by the kneeling son of the deceased, who holds incense sticks in his joined hands. The name of the deceased is then entered in the register. After the book has been wrapped again in its yellow silk, the son first arises from his kneeling position and then prostrates himself three times. Unmarried persons are not noted in the book. In cases of adoption, the fact of adoption is recorded.

764 After these ceremonies the care of the cemetery is entrusted to one of the nobles for the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions, offerings, and the making of repairs. After a short deliberation to determine the selection, a bowl of bread is put in a

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562 deserted, but his widow "was a woman of wisdom and decision. She assembled the small number of men that had remained loyal, raised the banner with the signs of Yesugei Bagatur, and started in pursuit of the seceders. She succeeded even in making part of them return . . . "[10] and though she failed in the end, her courage has remained a Mongol legend. Similarly, Shirokogoroff notes of the Khingan Tungus in Manchuria that "even the women maintain the clan honor and fight if necessary."[11]

562 173 The women of the Monguors have legends that are in this tradition. I have recorded one of them in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, describing the captivating song sung at Monguor marriages and at all festivals, recalling the daring exploit of the wife of the chief of the Lu clan, who killed a brigand chief and was rewarded by the emperor. The story goes that the country between Liangchou and P'ingfan was infested by the brigand Ta Kuan-ch'ün[12] and his followers and all communications between the two cities were cut. In this crisis, the wife of the Lu T'u-ssu lured the bandits into an ambush. She pitched a tent, spread red felt rugs out on the ground, and dressed some of her maids in transparent gowns. Wearing golden bracelets, playing musical instruments, and singing local songs, they "welcomed" the bandits. When the bandits were drunk, the maids beat copper cooking cauldrons as a signal and the soldiers who had been lying in ambush rushed out and loaded the chief of the bandits, his lieutenants, and seven others with chains. When the captives recovered from their drunken stupor and began to struggle, the soldiers flogged them to death, cut off their heads, and set them up on posts along the highway of Wuchaoling. The brother of the brigand chief, when he heard the news, cut his own throat. The brave wife of the T'u-ssu then sent troops to exterminate the rest of the brigands or force them to submit.

When the emperor heard of this exploit, he presented the noble lady with a thousand ounces of silver, precious golden ornaments, a complete set of hairpins and ear-

[10] B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan*, 14–15, English translation, London, Routledge, 1930.

[11] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the northern Tungus*, 196.

[12] There is a possibility that this name is a corruption of the Chinese expression *kuang-kun* prefixed by the Chinese word *ta*, "big." In H. A. Giles, *A Chinese-English dictionary*, second edition, Shanghai and London, Kelley and Walsh, Bernard Quaritch, 1912, under number 6389, *kuang-kun* is given as "a bare pole—a swindler; a scoundrel." In the north China vernacular, however, the expression has the meaning "a tough," "a gangster," and in this meaning it has passed into more than one of the frontier languages of China. Father A. Mostaert, in his *Dictionnaire Ordos* 1: 292*a*, records it in the form *gaŋgun* with the meanings "vaurien, trompeur; qui se conduit mal, volage, leger de conduit; libertinage," and also records a verb formed from the noun. C. P. Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia*, 212–214, London, Methuen, 1926, records it in the form "Gangung" as part of the name of a swashbuckler, with the meaning of "brigand," in a Turki ballad from Kashgar.—O. L.

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562 173 rings and four pieces of flowered silk. He ordered his officials to build her a seven-storied mansion at Lien-ch'eng. She was also presented with an inscription reading "She displayed faithfulness," and given a grant of fifty *ch'ing* of land, the revenues of which were to provide her with "toilet expenses," the Chinese expression equivalent to the English "pin money." The grant of land, according to the family chronicle of the Lu T'u-ssu, was in the country of *chun ku erh*.[13] There are also legends of the bravery of the Monguor women during the great Muslim rebellion who joined in the battle just as their husbands were beginning to retreat, and thus turned defeat into victory. According to popular tradition, it was for this exploit that the emperor himself designed the costume that Monguor women wear on ceremonial occasions, including a sleeveless "military" jacket, military skirt, and a miniature shield and spear as part of the headdress.

562 In spite of all these legendary tributes to their ability, however, Monguor women do not play a conspicuous part in politics or administration: with the exception, already noted, that when a T'u-ssu dies leaving a son who has not come of age, the boy's mother acts as regent.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE

604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is most clearly seen in the role of the maternal uncle, who while not a part of the family of his sister's child exerts, nevertheless, a powerful influence over his sister's child and over the family into which his sister's child is born.

In discussing the role of the maternal uncle, I shall divide my remarks into two parts, dealing first with the most striking aspects of his role, and secondly with the context in which these prominent aspects occur. Since the facts which are to be presented have considerable theoretical importance for the problem of possible matriarchal survivals in a patriarchal kinship system, I shall conclude my observations with a short theoretical analysis.

604 764 Among the Monguors the special rights of the maternal uncle were most vividly manifest in three circumstances: (1) at the natural death of his sister's children (2) in the event of their having been murdered or having committed suicide, and (3) in situations where they were subject to punishment.

[13] These three Chinese syllables are one of the regular transcriptions of the Mongol term *jun gar*, "left hand" or "left wing." This expression reflects the usual Mongol practice of dividing territories and military organizations into a left (east) and a right (west) wing (the south being "front" and the north "back"). This expression is the origin of the name of the Jungar Mongols, who were the "left wing" of the confederation of Western Mongols in the region of the Altai mountains and the northern part of Sinkiang Province which is therefore still known, in the Western literature, as Jungaria or Zungaria. In this case, however, the reference may be to land taken from some of the Jungar Mongols who eventually migrated into the pastures of the Tibetan plateau near the country of the Monguors.—O. L.

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291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 [858] A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

• 173 291 562 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

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Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince, "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

The significance of the Monguor national costume even in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

The costumes of the Monguor women are much more elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

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at peace. This typical incident depicts the true mentality of the barbarian tribes at that time, and the impact of shamanism and Buddhism upon these old Manicheans.

MA-T'I SSU, THE HORSESHOE MONASTERY

In the southern mountains of the subprefecture of Yung Ch'ang, in 1912, Fathers Essens, Selosse, and I visited a small group of Uighurs, living in the Ma-t'i Ssu-ku, the valley of the monastery of the Horseshoe. We saw two temples built in the rock. The upper temple was administered by lamas, the lower one by a couple of Chinese monks.

In the red sandstone of the mountain was a deep cave, where the lamas pointed to a large horseshoe imprinted on the floor. It was said to be the print of the shoe of the horse mounted in time of war by the legendary Gesar, who later became a Chinese god of war. Maybe for that reason Chinese monks live there. An iron stake was also planted in the cave on which two heavy chains were attached, said to be the chains with which Gesar restrained his terrible mastiffs. Legends were told claiming that Gesar had lived in the valley and built the temples.

At present the temple is an affiliate of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung belonging to the Living Buddha T'u-kuan. In one of his previous existences he had bought some land in that country, the revenues from which were used for the support of the lamas and the payment of yearly interest on the capital invested by the Living Buddha. The lama director of the monastery is responsible for the administration of the monastery and is appointed by the Living Buddha (Monguors II: 52).

The monastery of the Horseshoe seems to have existed long before the T'u-kuan Living Buddhas and the monastery of Erh-ku-long existed (1604), for we read in the *Annals* of Kansu 97: 37, that a lama from Tibet living in Ma-t'i Ssu, named Pa-shih-ha, was appointed by the Dalai Lama to collect from the Uighurs of the country the *t'ien-pa*, the yearly field tax, and to send it to Lhasa. It is noted also that the Uighurs of the country, every time they killed an ox or a sheep, had to offer to the lamas of Ma-t'i Ssu some meat or a skin for the support of the lamas. Did the Horseshoe monastery or hermitage already exist before the Khoshot Kushihhan had conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama in 1642? It seems to be a very old hermitage on account of the legends claiming its origin date from the time of Gesar.

The *Annals* of Kansu claim also that the Uighurs living in the Horseshoe region were Yellow and Black Tibetans (shera saro Uighurs). When these Uighurs had settled in that country is unknown. They were engaged partly in farming but mostly in cattle breeding. Their daughters married Tibetan boys; their boys married Tibetan girls. The clothes of the women were

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own troops, seems at first sight to have been a dangerous one. The Mings must have known that many armed groups of Mongols had fled to Mongolia; they must have surmised that the heir apparent of the Mongol nation would try to invade China and recover his lost empire, and that in such circumstances the faithfulness of the surrendered Mongol officials in Kansu still commanding their own troops would have been questionable. However, without hesitation and apprehension they went ahead, using from the very beginning the surrendered officials to induce other Mongol officials and Tibetan tribes to surrender. Even from the very beginning they ordered their troops to follow the imperial armies fighting unconquered or revolting tribes of Mongol officials, even ordering their troops to fight Mongol armies at the side of the Chinese armies in expeditions to Mongolia. Several t'u-ssu and hundreds of their soldiers died on the fields of battle; even t'u-ssu were sent with their troops to other provinces to quell revolts. But after every military achievement the emperors never omitted to bestow upon the t'u-ssu awards and titles of which they were unusually fond. In Kansu the number of Mongol officials who rebelled after their surrender was small. Many t'u-ssu later on, remaining chiefs of their clans, at the same time entered the framework of the civil and military Chinese officials and fulfilled their duties in Chinese territory, receiving the rewards or punishments proper to the office. It may be said that the policy of the Ming in Kansu promoting the surrender of Mongol officers and tribal chiefs was successful and of enormous profit to the dynasty.

ANCESTORS OF THE LI T'U-SSU CLAN

The tradition all over the country and confirmed by both the *Annals* of Kansu (42: 38*a*, 46*b*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (27: 9*a–b*), claims the Li t'u-ssu clans to be the descendants of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, who had received from the Tang emperor the name Li and been created Prince of Chin in 895. At the time the Tang dynasty had run its course, the Shat'o founded in China, successively, two ephemeral dynasties: Hu Tang (923–936) and Hu Chin (936–947) (Monguors I: 131 appendix, the Shat'o Turks). Among the t'u-ssu in Huangchung are encountered two Li branches: that of Li Nan-ko, to whose son, Li Yin, had been granted in 1425 the title of Earl of Huei Ning, and that of Li Wen, son of Li Shang-ko, on whom had been bestowed the title of Earl of Kaoyang in 1459. During the Yuan, the Li Nan-ko branch guarded the territory of San Ch'uan Valley (since 1930, called the subprefecture of Ming Huo) situated 120 li southeast of Nienpei, and controlled more than 4,000 families, scattered in many villages. The Li Wen clan controlled 963 families scattered in 48 villages and guarded the territory 30 li south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*a*, 48*a*). During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties both branches still occupied and guarded the same territories.

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On account of the fact that the original family chronicles were lost during the troubles which beset the Ming dynasty, the most fantastic legends have come to be spread among the Li Monguors and even among their t'u-ssu, relating to the history of the clan ancestors preceding the Ming period (1368). Some of them circulating among the Li Wen clan have been noted in Monguors I: 26, 27. Concerning the Li Nan-ko branch we possess two recent documents of 1937 and 1941 which Chinese scholars obtained, one from the Li t'u-ssu himself, and one from a clan member.

The first document, *Studies on Frontier Areas of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai, and Tibet*, by Ma Ho-t'ien[65] records, on page 179, the personal visit of Ma Ho-t'ien to the residence of the Li t'u-ssu in the subprefecture of Ming Hua and his trip to the ancestral cemetery at Hsiang T'ang.[66]

The Li t'u-ssu was so kind as to show the chronicle of his clan. The size of the chronicle is two feet square, the image of the ancestor is depicted on the first page. On the next page is elaborated his history, and so on for each of the ancestors. However, the only trustworthy part of the chronicle is that starting with the surrender of Li Nan-ko to the Ming and relating the succession of the t'u-ssu from 1371 until the present time. The entire text concerning the history of the ancestors preceding Li Nan-ko is unreliable. Then we left the t'u-ssu and went to the ancestral cemetery of the Li Nan-ko branch at Hsiang T'ang.

On page 180:

The cemetery occupies a terrain as large as six acres, enclosed by a mud wall. The central alley, bordered by stone sheep and tigers in a sad state of decay, leads to a big stele, behind which is said to be the tomb of Li Nan-ko, and in front of which is built a stone table for the offerings to the dead. On the stele are engraved the text of the ratification by the Ch'ing emperor, of the appointment granted by the previous Ming emperor to the incumbent to the office of t'u-ssu, the text of a funeral oration granted by an emperor at the death of a t'u-ssu, also the glorious achievements of the clan and the names of the t'u-ssu who died on the field of battle. On both sides of the avenue are erected the steles of the t'u-ssu of the Li Nan-ko clan dating from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, the most recent dating from the Kuang-su period (1875–1909). Outside the enclosure, at the entrance of the cemetery, are erected two big steles, "the spirit way steles." On the one erected on the eighth moon of 1427 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Nan-ko), who posthumously received the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Pen-chun tu-tu. He is a descendant of Li K'o-yung, whose original name was T'o-pa, to whom was granted the name Li by the Tang emperor. During the Yuan dynasty, Li Shang-ko was functionary at the offices of the prince of Ch'i. To him succeeded consecutively Li Mei-chi-lu, Li Kuan-chi-lu and Li Nan-ko who was T'ung-chih (vice-chairman) of the district of Hsining. He received during the Hung-wu period of the Ming the hereditary duty of Tu-chih-huei-shih (High Commandant). To his son Yin was granted, on account of his merits, the title of Earl of Huei Ning,

[65] *Kan, Ch'ing-hai, Tsang pien-ch'ü K'ao-ch'a-chi*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1947.

[66] Hsiang T'ang is the name of the locality where the cemetery is situated, and means the Hall of Sacrifice, the room where the corpse is laid out.

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and posthumously were bestowed (upon Li Nan-ko) the titles of his son: Yung-lu ta-fu, Yu-chun tu-tu-fu, Tso-chun tu-tu-fu. On the second spirit way stele erected on the third moon of 1475 is chiseled: (this is) the spirit way stele of Sir Li (Li Yin) to whom was granted the title "official who sincerely manifested military achievements" to whom were bestowed, in a special way, the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Chou-kuo Huei Ning-pei (Earl of Huei Ning, pillar of the empire).

The second document is encountered in Shuo-wen-yueh-k'an 3, 10, 1942 (Ch'ung-ch'ing Shuo-wen Yueh-k'an shih). There we meet with the article "Genealogical record of the tribe of the descendants of Li K'o-yung" by Wei Chu-hsien, who passed through the subprefecture of Ming Hua (San Ch'uan Valley) in October 1941. He visited Li Pao-ch'ing, a clan member of the old Li Nan-ko branch, who told him that during the Shun-chih period (1644–1661) a genealogical chronicle had been composed based on all available sources, by Yueh-Nai, secretary of the t'u-ssu for fifteen years, well read in the history of the clan, and that Yueh Nai was a contemporary of T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu.[67]

I copied the present part of the chronicle composed by Yueh Nai. The original name of the Shat'o tribe of Li K'o-yung was Chu-yeh. The Tang emperor granted him the name Li and the title of Prince of Chin (895). He saved the Tang dynasty during the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao. Li Ssu-kung moved into Hsi Hsia, Li Chi-feng followed the Sung dynasty, offering the four districts of Yin, Hsia, Suei, Ning.[68] From the Sung until the Yuan, during generations, they lived in Hsi Hsia and were renowned for their military presentations. At the time of the Yuan, Li Shang-ko was T'ung-chih tu-tu-chih (Vice-Chairman of the protectorate office) in Hsining. Then the Li clan divided into six sub-clans, each having its t'u-ssu. The most important among them was the Li Nan-ko clan. During the Ming, Li Nan-ko surrendered with the officials of Huangchung. Then follow the names of the descendants of Li Nan-ko who fulfilled successively the duty of t'u-ssu during the Ming. Finally a genealogical scheme is elaborated, starting with Li Shang-ko, succeeded by his son Li Mei-chi-lu, his grandson Li Kuan-chi-lu, who had two sons Li Nan-ko and Ch'a han Timur. The son of Li Nan-ko was Li Yin, the son of Ch'a Han Timur was Kuan Yin-pao. The son of Li Yin was Li Ch'ang, the son of Kuan Yin-pao was Li Wen. Further the names of the successors of Li

[67] The shift of the Ming dynasty to that of the Manchu was preceded by a period of troubles. The rebels in Huangchung looted the country of its wealth. T'u-ssu Li T'ien-yu, still faithful to the Ming, tried to restore order in his territory. In 1644 his wife, concubine, two brothers, and three hundred of his subjects were killed. He himself was taken prisoner by rebels and sent to Sian to the Manchu court. He was accredited in his former duty of t'u-ssu and died as a faithful official of the Manchus (*Annals* of Hsining **28**: 2*b*. *Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*b*).

[68] *Annals* of Kansu **46**: 3*b*, happened in 982.

fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.